

Peggy Hallenberg, Charlie Simpson, LuAnne Vaughan, Diana Girand, Phyllis Maxwell-Day, Alma Sliger, Emma Lee Tennyson, Judy Keen, Sarah Pointer, LaVerne Tuell and Vickie Peeler. Charles Robinson would be the first to tell you that without these professionals, Robinson Realty would not be successful. I am proud to have such a fine business as a part of my District.

Mr. Speaker, I have included a copy of a story that ran in the Daily Post-Athenian that honors Century 21 Robinson Realty and would like to call it to the attention of my fellow members and other readers of the RECORD.

LOCAL REAL ESTATE FIRM HONORED BY  
CENTURY 21

Century 21 Real Estate Corporation, franchiser of the world's largest residential real estate organization, has announced that Century 21 Robinson Realty, Inc., is the recipient of the Quality Service Pinnacle Award.

The Quality Service Pinnacle Award recognizes Century 21 offices that deliver the best in consistent quality service at the highest level. To qualify, an office must earn a Quality Service Award in the current year, return a minimum of 50 completed Quality Service surveys during the past two years and meet or exceed the minimum Quality Service Index on the number of surveys returned during the last two years.

"We are thrilled to recognize the work of Century 21 Robinson Realty, Inc., for this significant achievement," said Van Davis, senior vice president, Franchise and Field Services, Century 21 Real Estate Corporation. The Century 21 system commended the dedication, professionalism and commitment to quality service exemplified by Century 21 Robinson Realty, Inc., a news release stated.

Also recognized at the annual awards banquet were several sales associates for their yearly sales commission totals in the Top Producer category. This year's winners were Diana Girand, Peggy Hallenberg, Judy Keen and Charlie Simpson. The Century 21 Robinson Realty office was also awarded the Top Producing office in the Chattanooga marketing area for units sold and commissions received.

Century 21 Robinson Realty, Inc., has more than 30 years of experience in the real estate industry and has been affiliated with the Century 21 system for 23 years.

A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE TOLLYE  
WAYNE TITTSWORTH

HON. ZACH WAMP

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1999

Mr. WAMP. Mr. Speaker, today I wish to honor the memory of a fine resident of the Sequatchie Valley and the 3rd District of Tennessee who left this life last May 2. Tollye Wayne Tittsworth died at age 60. For his family and the many friends who admired his work as a radio broadcaster and citizen, his death came far, far too soon.

Tollye Wayne, as he was called throughout the Sequatchie Valley, knew from the time he was still in his teen years that radio would be his life's work and his life's love. While still in high school, he began working part time at a radio station in McMinnville where he was born and grew up.

Like all people who excel at what they do, Tollye Wayne did not regard his career in radio and the news business as just "a job."

He lived—and enjoyed—his work 24-hours-a-day. He worked at a series of stations in Tennessee, including serving as general manager of WJLE in Smithville, general manager of WAKI in McMinnville and operations manager of WBMC-WTRZ in McMinnville and owner and general manager of WSMT AM-FM in Sparta from 1975 through 1980.

At 6 a.m. on July 14, 1986, Tollye Wayne signed on the air at WSDQ in Dunlap. He was a powerful voice—and a personality—known throughout the Sequatchie Valley. He took an interest in folks from all walks of life. It did not matter to Tollye Wayne whether the person he was speaking with was a hard working employee at a convenience store or just happened to be Vice President of the United States. Tollye Wayne was interested in what he or she had to say.

To those of us who have the honor of representing the Sequatchie Valley, a visit with Tollye Wayne was on our "must do" list anytime we were in the Dunlap area. Not only did we get a chance to communicate with folks throughout the valley through radio station WSDQ, but—just as importantly—we got a chance to pick Tollye Wayne's brain about what was going on in the Valley. It is not very much of an exaggeration to say that Tollye Wayne knew just about everything that was happening in the valley.

Tollye Wayne did not simply cover his community. He worked to make it better, serving as a member of a number of civic clubs and community boards, including the Sequatchie Valley Health Council, the Sequatchie County Hospital Board, The Sequatchie Valley Planning Commission and the American Legion Harvey Merriman Post 190. He was also instrumental in establishing the Dunlap Chamber of Commerce. And he was a past president of the Dunlap Lions Club. He also quietly helped folks who needed it.

I know that Tollye Wayne would take comfort in the fact that what he built at WSDQ is being carried on by his family. I also want to express my most profound sympathy to his wife, Ruth Myers Tittsworth; his son Stephen Wayne Tittsworth; step-daughter, Teresa Ann Hennessee; his mother, Willie Cantrell Tittsworth; brother James Gary Tittsworth and his sister, Rita Poncina.

All of us who knew Tollye Wayne are grateful that we had the chance to work with him and sincerely mourn his passing. Tollye Wayne, God-Speed in the Better World where you are now. And thanks for the good you did for all of us.

CRISIS IN KOSOVO (ITEM NO. 14),  
REMARKS BY ALISTAIR MILLAR  
OF THE FOURTH FREEDOM  
FORUM

HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1999

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, on June 24, 1999, I joined with Representative CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, Representative BARBARA LEE, and Representative JOHN CONYERS in hosting the sixth in a series of Congressional Teach-In sessions on the Crisis in Kosovo. If a lasting peace is to be achieved in the region, it is essential that we cultivate a consciousness of

peace and actively search for creative solutions. We must construct a foundation for peace through negotiation, mediation, and diplomacy.

Part of the dynamic of peace is a willingness to engage in meaningful dialogue, to listen to one another openly and to share our views in a constructive manner. I hope that these Teach-In sessions will contribute to this process by providing a forum for Members of Congress and the public to explore options for a peaceful resolutions. We will hear from a variety of speakers on different sides of the Kosovo situation. I will be introducing into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD transcripts of their remarks and essays that shed light on the many dimensions of the crisis.

This presentation is by Alistair Millar, program director and Washington Office Director of the Fourth Freedom Forum, an independent research organization that sponsors scholarly conferences, cultural programs and research fellowships to promote awareness of peace and security issues. Before joining the Forum, Mr. Millar was a Senior Analyst at the British American Security Information Council. He is a British citizen and has a Masters Degree in International Studies from the University of Leeds.

PRESENTATION

(By Alistair Millar and David Cortright)

A peace settlement, no matter how tenuous, has been reached and the war in Yugoslavia over Kosovo is now over. NATO's bombing campaign is being sold as a success, but the problems in the region—in part created by the destruction resulting from allied bombing raids—are far from over. The process of reconstruction, repatriation and rehabilitation is just beginning and will be hugely expensive.

First we must be clear that this is a problem that does not only affect Kosovo and Serbia. The entire Euro-Atlantic region will suffer the consequences of this conflict for years to come. Regarding the Balkans area suffering the most acute impact of the war, the International Monetary Fund has identified a core group of six countries (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Romania). In a recent analysis the Fund projected that in the best case scenario the total IMF financing for the region will cost \$1.3 billion. The breakdown of the costs involved are detailed in the IMF study which looked at two scenarios. Economic output in the region has been reduced by an estimated five percent. This, in turn, will lead to a large trade imbalance—estimated at nearly \$2 billion. The IMF study along with the United Nations interagency cost projections for the remainder of this calendar year are now available on the internet. <http://www.worldbank.org/>

In Europe, the European Commission has estimated that the reconstruction of Kosovo alone will cost \$18 billion. At the G-8 Summit in Cologne, European delegates were hinting strongly that the United States—which currently has a large budget surplus—should bear the brunt. The United States was responsible for 85 percent of the war damage, and it should pay a commensurate share of the reconstruction effort. Incidentally, EU countries have paid 60 percent of the reconstruction costs in Bosnia.

As for the United States, President Clinton has noted that Washington did its share in providing two-thirds of the aircraft and all the cruise missiles for NATO's 78-day air war. At about \$100 million a day, that comes to more than \$7 billion. In a foreign aid bill

approved last Thursday by the US Senate Appropriations Committee, about \$535 million is targeted for the Balkan region but none of it has been allocated for Serbia.

It is vital that an agreement about who will pay is reached as soon as possible. Responsibility on the part of the United States for the destruction of Yugoslavia's infrastructure as a result of the US-led bombing campaign is an important first step. Considering the costs in human terms, rather than just purely as numbers would also help to focus attention on the severity of this problem. If you make a mess and don't have to clean it up, you aren't likely to think much about the consequences of making another mess in the future.

Even while the initial assessments are being made, it is almost certain that the costs, not least the costs of maintaining an armed military or peace enforcement presence in the region, are going to increase sharply over short periods of time. One major additional expense will be the peace-keeping operation itself, both military and civilian.

Given the extended period for which peace enforcement troops are likely to remain in place, some analysts argue that peace-keeping could prove even more expensive than the war. For example, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London has calculated that, with a projected K-For presence of about 50,000 troops, the bill could amount to as much as \$25 billion a year.

Increases in the costs of enforcing the Dayton peace accords and repatriating displaced refugees affected by the war in Bosnia also provides us with a relevant and recent example of the extent of the problem in Kosovo. The post-Dayton pricetag has increased enormously since 1995, and the enforcement of the civilian provisions of the accord has fallen woefully short of its stated goals, creating a multiethnic peaceful society.

Currently, the Stabilization Force, or SFOR is still made up of 30,000 Troops; 6,900 are Americans. According to the record of the Military Operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Limitation Act of 1999:

The deployment of United States ground forces to participate in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, which has resulted in the expenditure of approximately \$10,000,000,000 by United States taxpayers to date, which has already been extended past two previous withdrawal dates established by the Administration, and which shows no sign of ending in the near future, clearly argues that the costs and duration of a deployment of United States ground forces to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to halt the conflict and maintain the peace in the province of Kosovo will be much heavier and much longer than initially foreseen.

As Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison recently pointed out "We have tried an experimental Balkan policy in Bosnia. It is not workable. Thousands of American troops are there with no end in sight. The head of the international observer group has fired elected officials and canceled sessions of parliament because opposition parties oppose what we are doing in Kosovo. People vote in elections and then cannot stay and serve where they are elected."

Unfortunately the history of the war in Bosnia is repeating itself in Kosovo. NATO officials are interpreting their defeat of Slobodan Milosevic as an important example for the future. The lesson they are drawing is that military force can effectively serve humanitarian purposes, and that NATO must be prepared to use its military might again. A new "Clinton Doctrine" is reportedly being developed in Washington to emphasize this point. Bombing and military force are being justified as legitimate means of pre-

venting genocide and human rights abuse. The ground is thus being prepared for future bombing campaigns and military interventions, as NATO increasingly assumes the role of global policeman.

There is another way. The use of military force was not necessary to resolve the crisis in Kosovo, and it need not serve as a primary basis for securing global peace in the future. More effective and less destructive means exist for exerting pressure on wrongdoers and encouraging international cooperation. The key to securing the peace in Kosovo and beyond is not military might but economic power. Through the judicious application of economic sanctions and incentives, coupled with support for early monitoring to prevent conflict from escalating into wars, the United States and its partners can more effectively enforce civilized standards of behavior and lay the foundations for cooperation and security, not only in Yugoslavia but around the world.

History teaches that the greatest force on earth is not military might but economic power. Civilizations rise or fall more on the basis of their economic and social vitality than their military prowess. The Soviet Union was a military superpower but an economic weakling. When the underlying economic and social rot caught up with the military-political superstructure, the Potemkin village of Soviet power collapsed. The greatest strength of the United States lies not in bombers and missiles but in the extraordinary dynamism and creativity of its economy. Over the long run the power to give or withhold economic benefits is the most effective and creative way to influence human behavior. The use of economic power—providing inducements for cooperation, and applying sanctions against wrongdoing—offers the best hope for advancing the goals of peace, democracy, and human rights.

Sanctions are often dismissed as ineffective, but a closer look reveals that they have been successful on a number of occasions, including in the Balkans. During the 1992-95 crisis in Bosnia, the U.N. Security Council imposed economic sanctions against Yugoslavia to encourage Serbian support for a negotiated settlement. An extensive system of sanctions monitoring and enforcement was established in cooperation with neighboring European states. These U.N. sanctions were described in a report from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe as "the single-most important reason for the government of Belgrade changing its policies and accepting a negotiated peace agreement." Military analyst Edward Luttwak has written that "sanctions moderated the conduct of Belgrade's most immoderate leadership." While other factors contributed to the Dayton peace accords, including the Croatian-Bosnian military offensive of August/September 1995, U.N. sanctions played a role in bringing the parties to the bargaining table.

U.N. sanctions were employed again at the beginning of the Kosovo crisis, but the effort was half-hearted. In March 1998, as fighting in Kosovo intensified, the Security Council imposed an arms embargo on Yugoslavia. No effort was made to enforce the embargo, however, and no further steps were taken to increase sanctions pressure. Nor were efforts made to develop the kind of elaborate monitoring and enforcement machinery that was so effectively employed by the European community during the earlier episode.

Sanctions could yet contribute to a resolution of the Kosovo crisis, as part of a package of inducements and coercive measures designed to enforce the terms of the peace agreement. Working through the U.N., the United States and its partners should bring

to the table a credible package of sanctions and incentives to persuade the Serbs and Albanians to begin to resolve their differences and strive toward cooperation and reconciliation.

The sanctions part of the package might include the threat to go beyond the present arms embargo to impose targeted sanctions against those who renege on their obligations under the peace settlement. Among the selective measures that might be applied are aviation and travel bans, the freezing of financial assets, and the blocking of government and leadership financial transactions. The prospect of a selective oil embargo, targeted against refined petroleum products, might also be part of a sanctions package.

The incentives package might include the progressive lifting of sanctions, the encouragement of investment and trade, and a massive aid and reconstruction program for the region's battered infrastructure and crippled economy. Huge levels of humanitarian assistance will be needed for returning Kosovar refugees and vulnerable populations in Yugoslavia and surrounding countries. The delivery of economic assistance and development aid should be used to encourage compliance with the peace settlement and a greater commitment to democratization. Aid should be targeted to those constituencies and sectors which have a demonstrated commitment to democracy and human rights and which are most likely to support a long term process of conflict resolution and multi-ethnic cooperation. The delivery of aid should be conditioned on compliance with the peace settlement and should be delayed or suspended if the recipient groups balk or refuse to cooperate with one another in creating a new, more cooperative society.

The promise of economic prosperity is a powerful incentive for encouraging democracy, human rights, and respect for the rule of law. The desire for participation in the European system of economic development and political cooperation is an especially strong inducement for many people in the Balkans. Even in Serbia political leaders have voiced a desire to be part of the European community. Some argue that the decision to exclude Yugoslavia from Europe in the late 1980s contributed to the breakup of the country and the consequent armed conflicts. Offering now to integrate the countries of the Balkans into the European system of prosperity and cooperative development could be an effective inducement for conflict resolution and prevention. This is the concept of "association-exclusion," as opposed to the traditional "compellence-deterrence" approach embodied in NATO military policy. The greatest hope for a more cooperative future lies not in the power to punish, but in the creative use of association as a means of rewarding those who abide by civilized standards of behavior while excluding those who do not.

Because the conflicts in the Balkans are interconnected, and the economies of the region were once closely linked, it is important to view the region as an integrated whole, and to develop an aid program that applies to the entire region. Economic assistance should be designed not only to rebuild war-related damage but to lay the foundations for future economic development and interdependence. Economic assistance should be offered not only to Kosovo but to Serbia, Albania, and all the republics of the region. By making an extra effort now to raise the economic and social standards of the entire region, the United States and its European partners can help to establish the conditions for cooperation in the future and thereby reduce the likelihood of renewed warfare. This in turn will hasten the day when NATO forces can safely leave the region.

The United States and its allies have made an enormous military commitment to the region. Now they must make an even larger economic commitment to create the conditions for a lasting peace. The centerpiece of an economic strategy for peace should be a massive reconstruction and economic development program for the Balkans. The proposed assistance program should be on the scale of the Marshall Plan. At the end of World War II the victorious allies invested massively in rebuilding war-torn Europe and helped their former enemies recover economically and become functioning democracies. The strategy was a brilliant success that laid the foundation for European prosperity and cooperation and that has helped to secure the peace in Western Europe for more than 50 years.

No less an effort is needed now to bring prosperity and security to Southeast Europe. The guiding vision of U.S. and European strategy should be to create prosperous, democratic, economically interdependent states throughout the Balkans—to build societies where people trade rather than invade, where commerce, communication, and interdependence gradually break down the animosities that have so often fueled armed conflict in the region.

The price of a massive multi-year economic assistance and incentives package for the Balkans will be huge, but it is far less than the costs of indefinite military occupation or the losses that would occur in future wars and armed conflicts. The price of peace is surely less than the cost of war.

Only through a long-term program of economic assistance and political engagement can the United States and its partners ensure that the war for human rights has truly been won.

WELCOMING HOSNI MUBARAK

**HON. GARY A. CONDIT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, June 30, 1999*

Mr. CONDIT. Mr. Speaker, today we were honored to welcome Hosni Mubarak, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, to Capitol Hill. A leader in the Arab world, President Mubarak is considered by many of us to be a friend and trusted ally.

President Mubarak was awarded an honorary degree of laws by George Washington University during his Washington visit. In his remarks at the University's ceremony, President Mubarak stressed the importance of economic progress in Egypt. Under Mubarak's leadership, Egypt has implemented significant economic reforms, including economic privatization, revival of the stock exchange, and IMF and World Bank reform programs. President Mubarak also discussed the crucial role Egypt continues to play in the Middle East region as the first Arab country to make peace with Israel. As many of my colleagues know, Egypt has long been a strong ally of the U.S. and a force for stability in a volatile region of the world. President Mubarak was optimistic about the prospects for the peace process with the new Government in Israel.

I would like to share with my colleagues President Mubarak's June 29, 1999, address to a crowded assembly at George Washington University.

SPEECH OF H.E. PRESIDENT MOHAMED HOSNY MUBARAK ON THE OCCASION OF THE AWARDING OF A DOCTORATE HONORIS CAUSA, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, JUNE 29, 1999

President Trachtenberg, Faculty Members and Students of George Washington University, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great privilege to be with you today to receive this honorary degree, from one of the leading centers of learning and excellence of this great nation.

For many years your institution has been dedicated to the shaping of minds, the building of character through knowledge, through study and the pursuit of truth. In this, it has contributed to building a better world. But most importantly it has helped in building the future; as each mind, strong in its knowledge, richer in its humanity and confident in its powers, reaches for its ambitions, to build a better tomorrow of peace and well-being.

In the Middle East we also seek a future of prosperity. Over the years Egypt has strived to build a sustainable peace. And for over twenty years, it showed the way. Throughout we forged a path to conquer decades of enmity, of wars, of grief, and wasted lives. On this path of trust, of commitment to a just and lasting peace, we sought the respect of the rights of all to legitimacy, to security and to the pursuit of a prosperous future.

The road ahead is still long and the obstacles many, but we have seen the birth of a new hope. A new government in Israel has come to power. It holds the promise of better days for the peoples of Israel and Palestine.

For over two decades, the United States and Egypt have worked together. We have drawn from the deepest recesses of our rich pasts, our cultures of peace, our traditions of tolerance and commitment to prosperity to make a lasting future happen.

We built on the friendship that binds our two nations, to bring together enemies, bridge suspicions, draft compromises, and build the foundations of a lasting dialogue. And over the years we have shown that the partnership that unites us, the trust we have in each other can be the catalyst that will, one day, one day soon, bring back tranquility to this holy land.

In Egypt, over twenty years ago, we turned the page on a long history of wars. We turned our energies towards rebuilding the Egypt that we have known throughout the centuries. An Egypt that is strong and prosperous. One that holds the promise that its sons and daughters are entitled to. We rebuilt the infrastructure: the bridges, the roads, the power, the water, the ports and the cities. We recreated our society to seek progress in stability and in freedom, in growth and most of all in peace.

In the early nineties, we restored the financial balances that will usher us into the twenty-first century. A strong economy, open to the world, liberal, market driven and caring for the welfare of all its people. We built the institutions, drafted the laws, and trained the people so that we may join the world in its prosperity. We have come a long way, and look forward, with confidence, to a longer way still, to reach a society that is equal to the challenges ahead.

We worked to integrate the world economy, join its ranks, seek its rules and abide by them. We opened our markets, and freed our trade. We welcomed investment and shared our resources. We are building our economy to the scale of global competition.

But the challenges ahead have changed in the last few years. A world economy of closeness, of open borders and of shared prosperity has given way to instability and hardship. In country after country, long years of

development have vanished when investor sentiments changed in far away markets. The global economy of the twenty first century will bring us closer together, but it can also push us further apart. Now more than ever before global prosperity has come to rely on the welfare of each one of us. But can this really be so? Can we really build our world on a culture of cooperation?

Doubt has seeped in many a mind. Can we really rely on each other for our common prosperity? Will this global economy be an economy of shared responsibility, of common purpose and common means? This last year has seen efforts to change our global institutions to better our dialogue and to join efforts in development. A few weeks ago, the group of eight industrial nations agreed to share the burden of debt of the poorest countries. Will it also agree to share its affluence with them? We have all embraced market forces as the guide of our development. But we must harness them to serve our common purpose. The global economy stands at a crossroads between a polar world of rich and poor and a true partnership for a common future.

Let our children say one day that when we had to choose, we chose the difficult path but we chose well and most of all, we chose together.

But our reforms must not be just economic, they must reach deep into our societies. They must reach into our civil institutions, our political structures, our human capital and our intellectual regeneration.

Economic reform and the gradual liberalization of markets all over the world reduced the role of governments. They also opened up unlimited prospects and frontiers for both the private and the voluntary sectors. Each of them is now a full partner with the government in setting policies and in implementing them. In Egypt, we have encouraged this partnership for the benefit of all citizens.

Today our private sector stands at the forefront of our efforts to modernize and grow. Egypt's spirit of private initiative has been revived. And this spirit is allowing people to pursue their dreams, to realize their full potential and to play an active part in building their future.

The Egyptian Government has learned, through hard experience, that its role is that of a regulatory, a facilitator, a guarantor of basic rights, and a provider of urgent help for those who are in need during the difficult period of transition. Above all, it is responsible for encouraging and protecting an environment in which the private sector can create jobs, wealth, goods and services. With these, come stability, security, and a sense of shared responsibility that is the essence of human society.

And at the forefront of the institutions of civil society, stand political participation and the extension of democracy and accountable government.

The road to democracy is a long one, and we travel it with confidence. We have not turned back under the most difficult conditions, economic hardships, social pressure, malicious terrorism and narrow-minded intolerance. And we will not turn back, nor will our belief in the rule of law be shaken. We will work towards consolidating our democracy gradually, steadily, and in the spirit of tolerance and cooperation that is known of the Egyptian people.

But civil society is about much more than parliamentary democracy. It is about complementing good government and creating communities with shared values. For many centuries, the voluntary sector in Egypt played a crucial role in binding our society together, even during some of the hardest times. The spirit of charity and compassion